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1.

HISTORY

OF

THE ABIPONES.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE TERRITORY, ORIGIN, AND VARIOUS NAMES OF THE ABIPONES.

The Abipones inhabit the province Chaco, the centre of all Paraguay; they have no fixed abodes, nor any boundaries, except what fear of their neighbours has established. They roam extensively in every direction, whenever the opportunity of attacking their enemies, or the necessity of avoiding them renders a journey advisable. The northern shore of the Rio Grande or Bermejo, which the Indians call Iñatè, was their native land in the last century. Thence they removed, to avoid the war carried on against Chaco by the Spaniards of Salta, at the commencement of this century, and migrating towards the south, took possession of a

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valley formerly held by the Calchaquis. This territory, which is about two hundred leagues in extent, they at present occupy. But from what region their ancestors came there is no room for conjecture. Ychamenraikin, chief cacique of the Abipones in the town of St. Jeronymo, told us, that, after crossing the vast waters, they were carried hither on an ass, and this he declared he had heard from ancient men. I have often thought that the Americans originally came, step by step, from the most northern parts of Europe, which are perhaps joined to America, or separated only by a narrow frith. We have observed some resemblance in the manners and customs of the Abipones to the Laplanders, and people of Nova Zembla, and we always noticed in these savages a magnetical propensity to the north, as if they inclined towards their native soil; for when irritated by any untoward event, they cried in a threatening tone—*Mahaik quer ereëgem*, I will go to the north; though this threat meant that they would return to the northern parts of Paraguay, where their savage compatriots live at this day, free from the yoke of the Spaniards, and from Christian discipline.

But if the Americans sprung from the north of Europe, why are all the Indians of both Americas destitute of beard, in which the northern Eu-

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CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE ABIPONIAN NATION, OF THEIR PAUCITY, AND OF THE CHIEF CAUSES THEREOF.

To look for policy in savages will appear to you like seeking a knot in a bulrush, or expecting water from a flint. The Abipones, a nation obstinately attached to their ancient liberty, lived at their own pleasure, impatient of all controul. Their own will was their sole law. Nevertheless, as bees, ants, and every kind of animal, by natural instinct, observe certain peculiarities of their species, in like manner the most ferocious Indians pertinaciously retain, even to this day, certain customs, the ordinances of their nation, handed down to them by their ancestors, and regarded by them as laws. I shall proceed to treat of the political, economical, and military regulations of the Abipones, of their customs and magistrates.

The whole nation of the Abipones is divided into three classes: the Riikahès, who inhabit extensive plains; the Nakaigetergehes, who love the lurking-holes of the woods; and lastly, the Yanucanigas, who were formerly a distinct NATION, and used A separate language.

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nation, and used a separate language. In the last century, the Spaniards, whom they had gone out to slaughter, surprized them by the way, and almost destroyed them all. A few who survived the massacre, with the widows and children of the slain, joined the neighbouring Abipones, and both nations, by inter-marriages, coalesced into one; the old language of the Yaaucanigas falling into disuse. The Abiponian tribes pursue the same manner of life, and their customs and language, with the exception of a few words, are alike. Wondrous unanimity, and a constant alliance in arms, reigned amongst them as long as they had to deal with the Spaniards, against whom, as against a mutual foe, they bear an innate hatred, and whose servitude they resist with united strength. But though bound by the ties of consanguinity and friendship, impatient of the smallest injury, they eagerly seize on any occasion of war, and frequently weaken each other with mutual slaughter.

Like the other American savages, some of the Abipones practise polygamy and divorce. Yet they are by no means numerous; the whole nation consisting of no more than five thousand people. Intestine skirmishes, excursions against the enemy, the deadly contagion of the

[1 i.e., the YAAUCANIGAS, A group of Abipon. — ANALYST]

2: Metraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SI4 Abipon SI4

Mataco SI7

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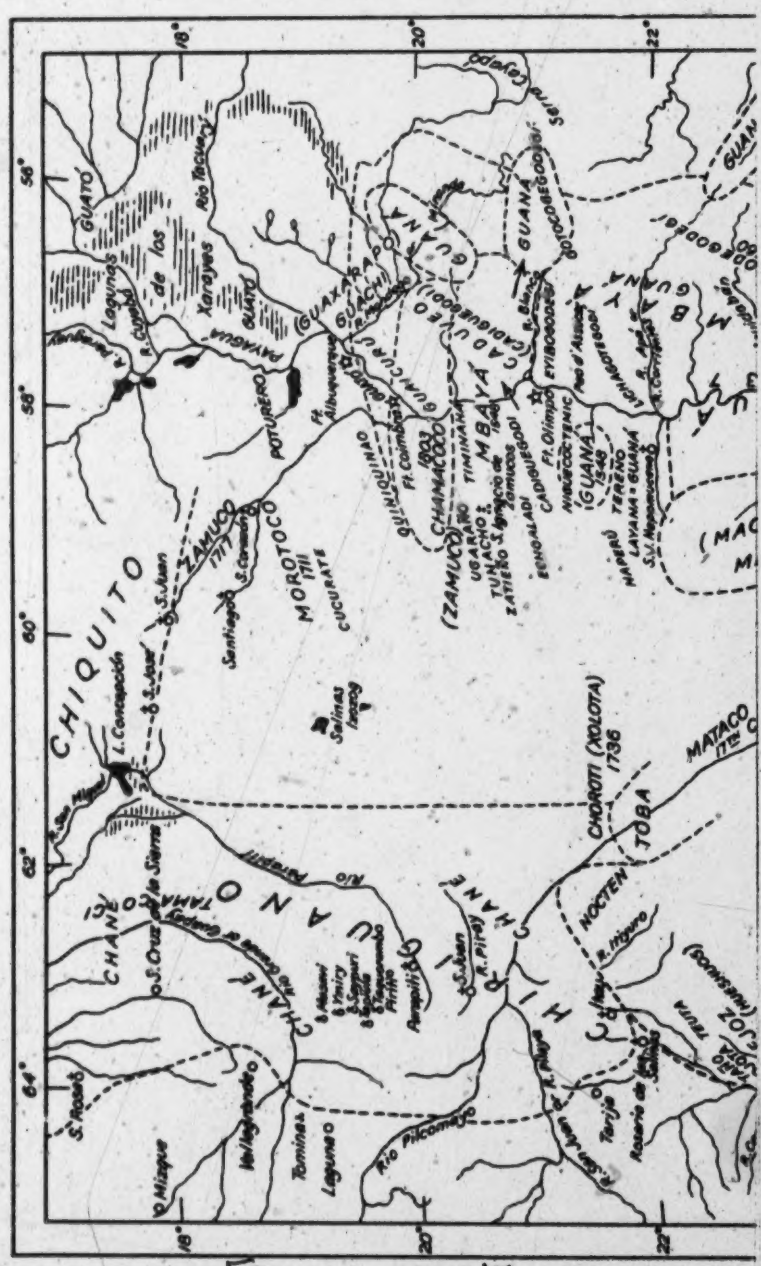

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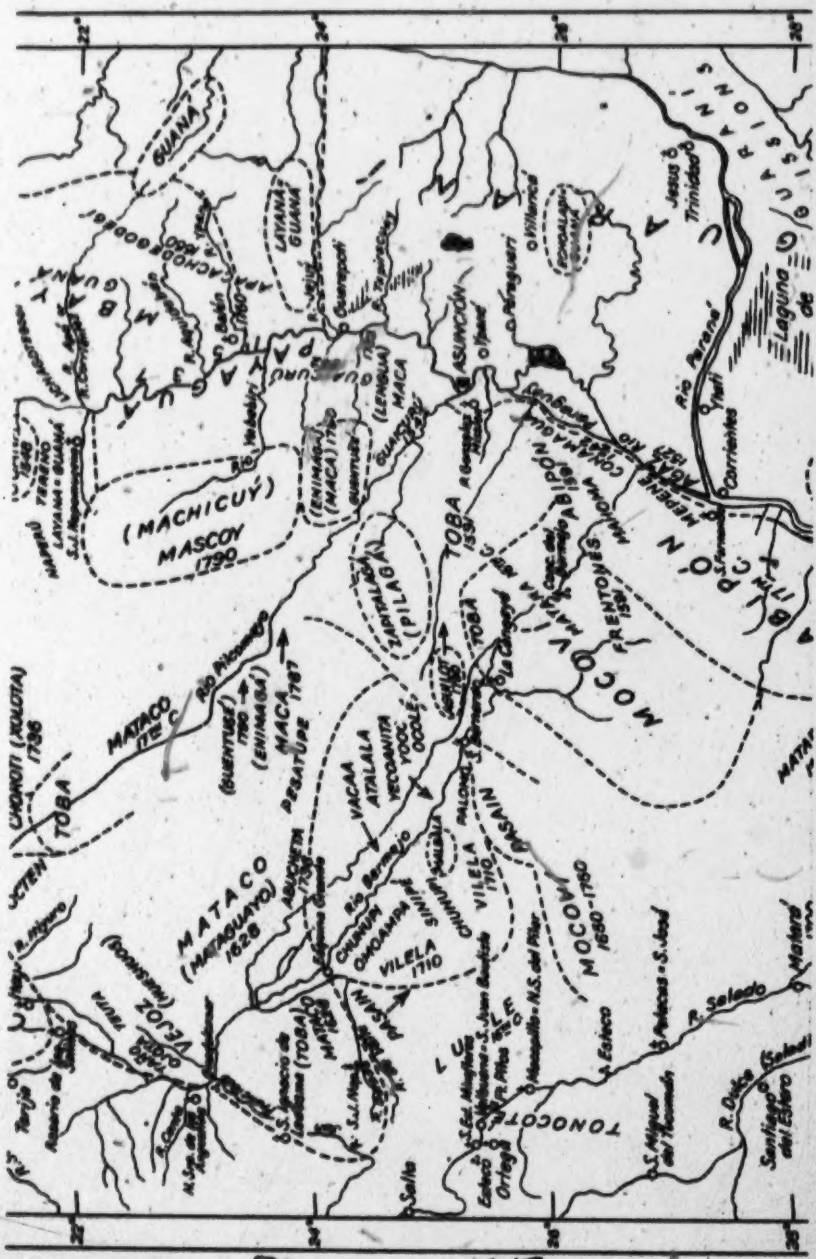
(MACHICUY)
MASCOY
1790
TOBA
1538
MOCOVÍ
CHANÉS
1581
MATACO
(MATAGUAYO)
1628
MOCOVÍ
1650-1750
VILELA
1710
PASAIN
MATACO
1726
MATACO
1726
CHOROTI (XOLOTA)
1736
NACA
1787
(ENIMAGA)
1780
(LENGUA)
MACA
(PILAGÁ)
ASUNCIÓN
Río Paraná
Río Pilcomayo
Río Bermejo
Río Salado
Río Dulce
Río Negro
Río Paraguay
Río Salado
Laguna de Guaycurú
Corrientes
Santiago del Estero
Salta
Jesús de Tavarangué
Villarica
Pilcomayo
Guaraní
Guaycurú
Lengua
Mascoy
Toba
Vilela
Chorote
Matará
Tonocoté
Lule
Vejoz
Guaná
Lengua-Maca
Enimagá
Pilagá
Chané
Frentones
Abipón
Mocoví
Tonocoté
Matará
Vejoz
Lule
Vilela
Chorote
Matako
Toba
Pasaín
Guaná
Lengua

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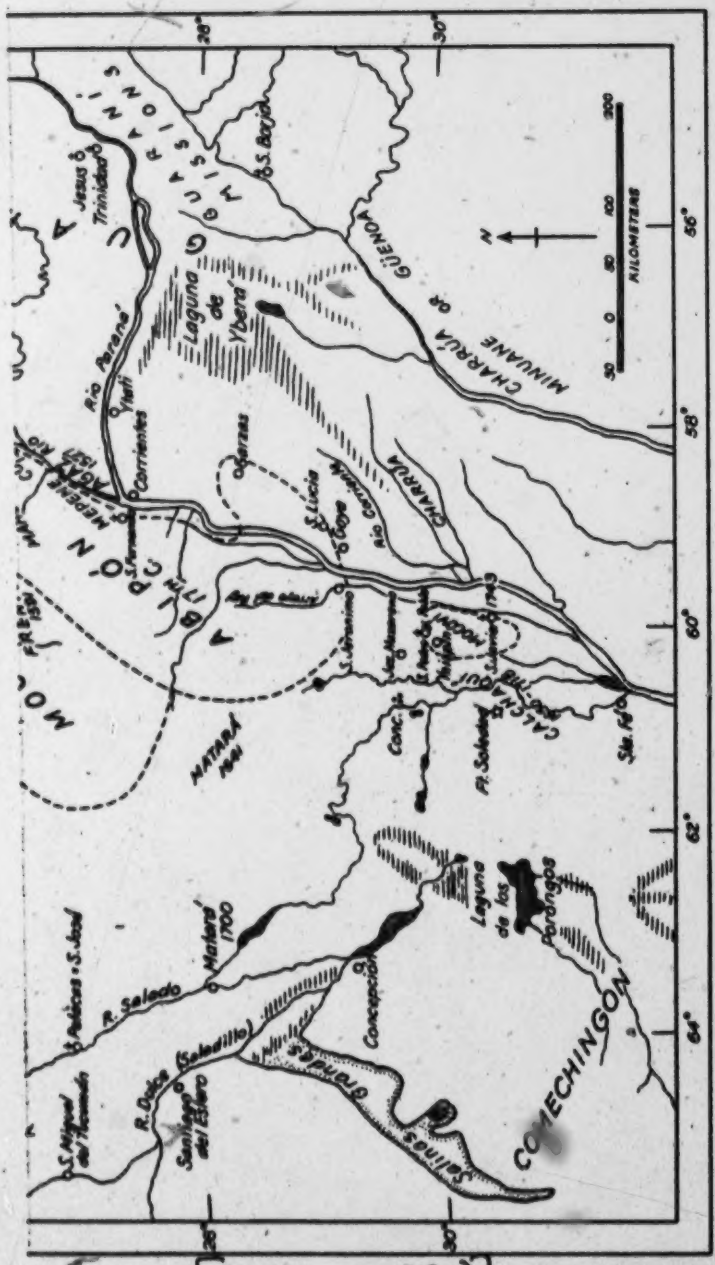

MAP 4.—Tribes of the Gran Chaco: Locations at the first European contact.

[Facing p. 198(C)]

2: Metraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SI4 Abipon SI4

000 living between the Apa and Ypané Rivers, and the other (300 people) near the range of the Nogona and Nebatena hills (lat. 21° S.). A few years later, the two *Caduveo* bands of Fuerte Olimpo, which numbered 300 and 380 respectively, settled near Coimbra in the Matto Grosso.

During the 19th century, the *Caduveo* ranged between the Rio Branco and the Miranda River, but the local ranchers seized part of their territory and made several attempts to exterminate them. At the beginning of the 20th century, the *Caduveo* were granted full possession of an area bounded on the north by the Nabileque River, on the west by the Paraguay River, on the south by the Aquidauana River, and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena and by the Niutaque River, a tributary of the Nabileque River. In 1937 the last *Caduveo*, totaling about 150, were divided among three settlements, the most important of which is Nalique. They are gradually being assimilated into the Brazilian rural population.

In the 18th century, the *Guetiadegodi* (*Gueteadegue, Guatiadeo, Uatadeo, Guatiadeho, Ua-teo-te-uo, Oleo*), or "Bush Dwellers," were the northernmost *Mbayá* subgroup in the Chaco. Their territory was somewhat to the east of the *Chiquito* mission of Sagrado Corazon, on the Mandiy River. They often molested the *Chiquito* converts, who defeated them in 1763 and took a great many prisoners to the missions. In 1766 a *Guetiadegodi* band seceded to form an independent band under their former chief's brother. Aguirre (1911, p. 312) places them in 1793 at lat. 20°30′ S., east of the Paraguay River. They numbered about 500, and were then living on the banks of the Paraguay River, having abandoned their equestrian existence to become boatmen and fishermen. In the middle of the 19th century, their remaining groups had settled as farmers near Albuquerque.

The *Apacachodegodegi* (*Apacachodegue, Apacatchudeho, Pacajudeus, Apacatche-e-tuo*) roamed from the Jejuy River to the Apa River, but generally camped either near the Aquidabán-mi River or the Apa River. Until 1760 they frequently returned to their former habitat in the Chaco. These Indians were also called *Mbayá-mirim* (*Small Mbayá*) to distinguish them from the *Mbayá-guazú* (*Large Mbayá*) of the Chaco, and *Belenistas* because the mission of Nuestra Señora de Belen was founded among them. In 1793 they numbered about 600, and consisted of 7 small bands under a supreme chief. Today they have entirely disappeared.

The *Lichagotegodi* (*Ichagotegue, Xaguetéo, Chagoteo*), or "People of the Red Earth," were concentrated in the region of the lower Apa River (lat. 22° or 21°30′ S.) somewhat west of the *Apacachodegodegi* and south of the Pão de Azucar. When they were missionized between 1769 and 1774, they numbered about 400.

The *Eyibopodegi* (*Echigueguo, Tchiguebo, Ejého, Ejueo, Enacupé*), or the "Hidden Ones," had one of their main camps near the Rio Branco, northeast of Pão de Azucar. This group, the largest *Mbayá* subtribe, consisted of three bands. In the middle of the 19th century, they were established near Albuquerque.

The *Gotocogegodegi* (*Guocotegodi, Ocotegueguo, Cotogudeo, Cotogeho, Cutugueo, Venteguebo*), or "Those of the Arrows Region," were a small group east of the *Eyibopodegi* in the hills at the headwaters of the Rio Branco. In 1793, they totalled about 200.

The *Boutuebo* (between lat. 21° and 20°40′ S.) mentioned by Azara (1809, 2:104) are the same as the *Beauguiechos* of Castelnau (1850–59, 2:479) who had lived near the Paraguayan border and later migrated to Miranda.

114 101 **Abipón** (*Mepene, Ebugina, Callagaic, Quiabanaité, Frentones*).—Azara (1809, 2:164) and Kersten (1905, p. 32) identify the *Mepene* (*Mapenuss, Mapeni, Mepone*), a tribe of river pirates described by Schmidel (1903, p. 164), with the historical *Abipón*, whose name

2: Metraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SI4 Abipon SI4

appears in the literature at the beginning of the 17th century. The *Mepene* lived somewhat to the south of the mouth of the Bermejo River in a region which, in the 17th and 18th centuries, was occupied by the *Abipón*. At that time the *Abipón* were not concerned with navigation, and nothing but a vague analogy in their respective names indicates a possible relationship between these two tribes. However, the name of one of the three *Abipón* subgroups, the *Yaaukanigá* (Water People), suggests that they may once have been canoe Indians and therefore identical with the *Mepene*. The *Yaaukanigá* were not originally an *Abipón* subtribe and even spoke a different language. It was only in the 17th century, after they had been defeated by the Spaniards, that the *Yaaukanigá* attached themselves to the *Abipón* and adopted their language.

The name *Callagaic* or *Callagá*, given to the *Abipón* by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, had no connection with the name *Gulgaissen*, which designated a tribe more to the south.

History of the Abipón.—The original habitat of the *Abipón* was along the northern banks of the lower Bermejo River. Their expansion toward the south began in the 17th century after they had acquired the horse either from Spanish ranchers or from the *Calchaquí*. The *Abipón* first attacked the *Matará*, whom they obliged to migrate from the Bermejo River toward the Province of Santiago del Estero. According to Lozano (1941, p. 97), they helped the *Calchaquí*[4] when the latter, who had been deported or had migrated from the Calchaquí Valley (Salta), arose to regain their liberty. In the beginning of the 18th century, the *Abipón* fought against the same *Calchaquí*, who had settled north of Santa Fé, until the smallpox epidemic of 1718 almost wiped them out. Then the *Abipón*, no longer hampered by their rivals, turned against the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé.

In the first half of the 18th century, the *Abipón*, together with *Mocoví* and *Toba*, ranged over a vast area bounded on the north by the middle and lower course of the Bermejo River, on the east by the Paraná River, on the south by the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé and on the west by those of Córdoba and Santiago del Estero. Here the *Abipón* were continually moving from place to place. Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:4) writes, "The Abipones imitate skillful chess-players. After committing slaughter in the southern colonies of the Spaniards, they retire far northwards, afflict the city of Asunción with murders and rapine, and then hurry back to the south. If they have committed hostilities against the towns of the Guaranies, or the city of Corrientes, they betake themselves to the west. But if the territories of Santiago or Córdoba have been the objects of their fury, they cunningly conceal themselves in the marshes, islands, and reedy places of the river Paraná." In 1751, a party of *Abipón* entered the city of Santa Fé, killing and looting.

[4] In 1665 Alonso de Mercado y Villacorta deported the Indians of the Calchaquí Valley to Buenos Aires. Lozano (1941, p. 96) states that these *Calchaquí* were different from those who lived on "ecomiendas" in the region of the Bermejo River. According to Del Techo and Lozano, *Calchaquí* had migrated into the Chaco to escape the oppression of the Spaniards. These refugees may have been those who rose against the Spaniards and formed an independent tribe north of Santa Fé about 1640. Two groups of *Calchaquí* near Santa Fé were the *Tocoque* and the *Calastiné*.